United States Marine Corps
Command and Staff College
Marine Corps University
2076 South Street
Marine Corps Combat Development Command
Quantico, Virginia 22134-5068

MASTER OF MILITARY STUDIES

TITLE:

George Washington, America's First Director of Military Intelligence

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF MILITARY STUDIES

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AY 2001-02

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Approved:
Date:

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Approved:
Date:

REPORT DOCUMENTATION PAGE

Form Approved OMB No. 0704-0188

1. REPORT DATE (DD-MM-YYYY)	2. REPORT TYPE	3. DATES COVERED (FROM - TO)
01-07-2002	Student research paper	xx-xx-2001 to xx-xx-2002

4. TITLE AND SUBTITLE
George Washington, America's First Director of Military Intelligence
Unclassified

5a. CONTRACT NUMBER
5b. GRANT NUMBER
5c. PROGRAM ELEMENT NUMBER

6. AUTHOR(S)
Prather, Michael S. ;

5d. PROJECT NUMBER
5e. TASK NUMBER
5f. WORK UNIT NUMBER

7. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION NAME AND ADDRESS
USMC Command and Staff College
2076 South Street
MCCDC
Quantico, VA22134-5068

8. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION REPORT NUMBER

9. SPONSORING/MONITORING AGENCY NAME AND ADDRESS
USMC Command and Staff College
2076 South Street
MCCDC
Quantico, VA22134-5068

10. SPONSOR/MONITOR'S ACRONYM(S)
11. SPONSOR/MONITOR'S REPORT NUMBER(S)

12. DISTRIBUTION/AVAILABILITY STATEMENT
APUBLIC RELEASE
,

13. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES

14. ABSTRACT
See report.

15. SUBJECT TERMS

16. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF:			17. LIMITATION OF ABSTRACT	18. NUMBER OF PAGES	19. NAME OF RESPONSIBLE PERSON
a. REPORT	b. ABSTRACT	c. THIS PAGE	Public Release	56	EM114, (blank) lfenster@dtic.mil
Unclassified	Unclassified	Unclassified			19b. TELEPHONE NUMBER International Area Code Area Code Telephone Number 703767-9007 DSN 427-9007

REPORT DOCUMENTATION PAGE

FORM APPROVED - - - OMB NO. 0704-0188

1. AGENCY USE ONLY (*LEAVE BLANK)*	2. REPORT DATE	3. REPORT TYPE AND DATES COVERED STUDENT RESEARCH PAPER

4. TITLE AND SUBTITLE

GEORGE WASHINGTON, AMERICA'S FIRST DIRECTOR OF MILITARY INTELLIGENCE

5. FUNDING NUMBERS

N/A

6. AUTHOR(S)

MICHAEL S. PRATHER, LCDR USN

7. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES)

USMC COMMAND AND STAFF COLLEGE
2076 SOUTH STREET, MCCDC, QUANTICO, VA 22134-5068

8. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION REPORT NUMBER

NONE

9. SPONSORING/MONITORING AGENCY NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES)

SAME AS #7.

10. SPONSORING/MONITORING AGENCY REPORT NUMBER:

NONE

11. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES

NONE

12A. DISTRIBUTION/AVAILABILITY STATEMENT

NO RESTRICTIONS

12B. DISTRIBUTION CODE

N/A

ABSTRACT *(MAXIMUM 200 WORDS)*

Thesis: George Washington, as Commander-in-Chief of the Continental Army led this nation to victory and independence in the American War for Independence. Victory was facilitated by his direct and effective use of intelligence sources and methods.

Discussion: During the American War for Independence, intelligence information regarding location, movement, and disposition of British forces allowed the Continental Army to fight on its own terms and stymie British efforts to quell the revolution. General George Washington, as Commanding General of the Continental Army, was aware of the value of intelligence in the proper conduct of military operations. Washington literally became America's first director of military intelligence. He directed the intelligence operations that were conducted, and performed his own analysis. The Continental Army's effectiveness in intelligence includes examples of the proper use of espionage, counterintelligence, communications security, codebreaking, deception, operational security, surveillance, reconnaissance, reporting and analysis. Time after time, the Americans were properly prepared with good intelligence ultimately resulting in independence from the British. These intelligence successes can be directly attributed to the direction of General George Washington and the actions of his operatives.

14. SUBJECT TERMS (KEY WORDS ON WHICH TO PERFORM SEARCH)
GEORGE WASHINGTON, INTELLIGENCE, AMERICAN REVOLUTION, SPIES, ESPIONAGE, RECONNAISSANCE, US HISTORY, US ARMY

15. NUMBER OF PAGES: 54

16. PRICE CODE: N/A

17. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF REPORT	18. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF THIS PAGE:	19. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF ABSTRACT	20. LIMITATION OF ABSTRACT
UNCLASSIFIED	UNCLASSIFIED	UNCLASSIFIED	

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Title: George Washington, America's First Director of Military Intelligence

Author: LCDR Michael S. Prather, USN, CG-7

Thesis: George Washington, as Commander-in-Chief of the Continental Army led this nation to victory and independence in the American Revolution. Victory was facilitated by his direct and effective use of intelligence sources and methods.

Discussion: During the American War for Independence, intelligence information regarding location, movement, and disposition of British forces allowed the Continental Army to fight on its own terms and stymie British efforts to quell the revolution. General George Washington, as Commanding General of the Continental Army, was aware of the value of intelligence in the proper conduct of military operations. Washington literally became America's first director of military intelligence. He directed the operations that were conducted, and performed his own analysis. The Continental Army's effectiveness in intelligence includes examples of the proper use of espionage, counterintelligence, communications security, codebreaking, deception, operational security, surveillance, reconnaissance, reporting and analysis. Time after time, the Americans were properly prepared with good intelligence ultimately resulting in independence from the British. These intelligence successes can be directly attributed to the direction of George Washington and the actions of his operatives.

Conclusion(s) or Recommendations: Military professionals, particularly intelligence professionals, can learn much about the basic necessities of conducting successful intelligence operations in support of military operations. Recommend that a short analysis of the history of intelligence operations be added to training programs for new intelligence personnel.

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Introduction.

During the American War for Independence, from Lexington and Concord in April, 1775, to Yorktown in October, 1781, intelligence information regarding location, movement, and disposition of British forces allowed the armed forces of the rebellious colonies to fight on their own terms and stymie British efforts to quell the revolution. General George Washington, as Commanding General of the Continental Army, was acutely aware of the value of intelligence in the proper conduct of military operations. Washington literally became America's first director of military intelligence. However, Washington was also very careful not to divulge his sources or methods even late in his life. Much of what we know today is reconstructed from what was revealed in later years by his various agents. Although there were individuals who had been identified as responsible for intelligence operations, General Washington directed the operations that were conducted, and performed his own analysis. The Continental Army's effectiveness in intelligence includes examples of the proper use of espionage, counterintelligence, communications security, codebreaking, deception, operational security, surveillance, reconnaissance,

reporting and analysis. Many of the major and minor engagements of the American War for Independence are punctuated by the intelligence successes or failures that contributed to their outcome.

> Accurate intelligence was crucial to Washington because of a poverty of resources with which to battle the British. Unable to muster a large, well-trained army, he resorted to a strategy of surprise attacks and hit-and-run raids on British outposts, such as the Christmas night descent on the unwary Hessians. Intelligence enabled him to perceive the strengths and weaknesses of both his own force and those of the enemy. With this knowledge, he was able to mask his own weaknesses while exploiting those of his adversaries.[1]

Fortunately for the Colonies, time after time, the Americans were properly prepared with good intelligence ultimately resulting in independence from the British. These intelligence successes can be directly attributed to the direction of George Washington and the actions of his operatives.

Background.

General George Washington was reared in Northern Virginia on the edges of civilization. He learned at an early age how to be an effective frontiersman. This carried over to his youth when he was appointed adjutant of

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[1] Nathan Miller, *Spying for America, The Hidden History of U.S. Intelligence* (New York: Paragon House, 1989), 5-6.

the southern district in the Virginia Militia at the age of twenty-one.[2] In 1753, it had become apparent that the French were encroaching into British territory in Pennsylvania and Ohio. George Washington was sent to his destiny as a practitioner of intelligence. He was ordered to scout the area in question and determine locations and strength of the French garrisons. He located Fort Leboeuf (in today's northwestern Pennsylvania), scouted it, and provided startlingly detailed reports to the Royal Governor. He was rewarded by being ordered to raise a force and build his own fort in the Ohio valley and was authorized to engage any French who opposed him. This resulted in a minor skirmish won by Washington's forces (before his eventual withdrawal from that fort, Fort Necessity). Thus, the opening acts of the French and Indian war were conducted by Washington and initiated by his intelligence collection mission.[3] Later, during the French and Indian War, his appreciation for the value of intelligence was reinforced by his experiences while accompanying General Edward Braddock on the disastrous campaign to Fort Duquesne. The British defeat is a direct

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[2] Trevor Nevitt Dupuy, *The Military Life of George Washington: American Soldier* (New York: Franklin Watts, Inc., 1969), 3.
[3] Edward F. Sayle, "George Washington: Manager of Intelligence," *Studies in Intelligence* 27, no. 4 (Winter 1983): 1-2.

result of the complete lack of intelligence regarding the strength of the French garrison. Washington learned this lesson and carried it with him as he barely escaped with his life.[4]

When the American Revolution broke out, George Washington was appointed as the overall commander of the Continental Army in June, 1775. He arrived on the outskirts of Boston and assumed command of the army besieging the British in July. He likely inherited what was left of the pre-existing intelligence network established by Dr. Joseph Warren and Paul Revere and built upon it.[5] As the war progressed, Washington became a true master of the intelligence trade. He recognized the value of accurate intelligence and regarded it as one of his most important duties.[6] Despite the fact that he had many other duties, he refused to delegate that responsibility (except

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[4] Christopher Andrew, *For the President's Eyes Only, Secret Intelligence and the American Presidency from Washington to Bush* (New York: Harper Perennial, 1995), 6-7.

[5] Dr. Warren was head of the "Committee of Safety" formed in October 1774. Paul Revere was one of his primary operatives. They were charged with reporting on activities that the British were conducting that would be of interest to the patriot cause. They reported their information directly to Dr. Warren. Unfortunately, Dr. Warren was killed at Bunker Hill prior to Washington's accession to command. But, the apparatus, while reduced due to Dr. Benjamin Church's infidelity, likely remained when Washington arrived in Boston. Edmund R. Thompson, editor, *Secret New England, Spies of the American Revolution* (Kennebunk, Maine, USA: The David Atlee Phillips New England Chapter Association of Former Intelligence Officers, 1991), 3-14.

[6] Miller, 6.

for the actual field collection) to someone else.[7] Washington parlayed his ability to acquire accurate knowledge of the enemy into success on the battlefield. Realizing that his army was not going to be able to match the British in open battle, Washington adopted a strategy of picking his battles, avoiding most major engagements and outlasting the enemy.[8] In order to pursue this strategy, it was necessary to know what the British plans were. Therefore, he developed an advanced network of operatives, spies, and surveillance and reconnaissance units. Intelligence gleaned from this apparatus served to place him in position to strike small portions of the British Army as at Trenton, Princeton, and Yorktown. Ultimately this strategy worked, the British were tired, harried and much more concerned with the expanded war with France and Spain, than the recalcitrant colonies.

Intelligence Support to Operations:

Boston (1775-1776). Upon assumption of command of the Continental Army, Washington was anxious to ensure that he knew every intention of the enemy. Recognizing this continuing need for information he almost immediately began

[7] Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) Pamphlet, *Intelligence in the War for Independence* (n.p., n.d.), 37.
[8] Andrew, 7-8.

building upon what was left of the pre-war operation organized by Dr. Joseph Warren operating in Boston.[9] $333 1/3 was the first large entry in his ledger and it was to fund an unknown agent's activities in Boston.[10] For the safety of his sources, Washington was careful not to name his agents in his operational and expenditure reports.

Despite British desires to keep spies from entering and exiting Boston, Washington was well informed of British activities. Probably one of the most imaginative and easy ways in which agents entered and exited Boston was by way of fishing ships. The British were not very diligent in policing who would depart and arrive in these ships. The Americans would include a spy among the crew leaving port and then drop him off outside of town and pick up the next agent to enter Boston.[11]

The majority of reporting was of the routine sort regarding such things as British troop strength, resupply intentions, and defensive positions. In early 1776, the Americans tightened the cordon around Boston by placing artillery on Dorcester Heights threatening the British positions in the city. The British decided that the city

[9] Thompson, 14.
[10] Miller, 5.
[11] John Blakeless, *Turncoats, Traitors and Heroes* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1959), 88-89.

was not defendable and evacuated to Halifax before descending on New York City.

New York (1776). Washington was most certainly aware that the British intended to move to New York, however he seemed unprepared for that movement. The British began the campaign for this strategic city in June, 1776. Washington did not already have a spy network in place when the British arrived, and it showed. Throughout the summer, the British defeated and outmaneuvered the Continentals time and again (at places such as Long Island, Harlem Heights and Fort Washington). Washington seemed not to know when or where he would be attacked. Only a familiarity with the local area and British inability to close in a timely manner prevented the Continental Army from being destroyed.

During this time, Washington became quite frantic for intelligence on British strength and plans. He began to repeatedly ask his subordinates for information. At last, he asked his first unit designated for intelligence work, Knowlton's Rangers, to find a volunteer to enter the city and try to gain some valuable information. Young Nathan Hale became that man.[12]

[12] Miller, 15-16.

Nathan Hale was idealistic and enthusiastic, but not very well-suited for this mission. He entered the city, conducted surveillance, was captured with incriminating evidence and promptly executed in September, 1776.[13] This is when Hale uttered the famous words, "I only regret, that I have but one life to lose for my country."[14] George Washington became aware of Hale's sacrifice as stories filtered out of the city. This was the final realization for Washington that a well-developed spy network was of the utmost value to him. He slowly worked to build an effective network that began to pay dividends as he would be ready for the British when they moved to Philadelphia.

Trenton & Princeton (1776-77). Late in 1776, after securing the vicinity of New York City, the British had pushed into New Jersey. Washington was forced to retreat across the colony and into eastern Pennsylvania. Washington had become desperate. By mid-December, his army had shrunk to nearly 6,000 men.[15] Most of his army's enlistments would expire on January 1, 1777. Spirits in the rebellious colonies were flagging. Washington realized that unless something drastic happened before the New Year,

[13] Blakeless, 110-113.
[14] Blakeless, 120.
[15] Dupuy, 64.

his army would disappear and the cause would probably be lost. Washington needed some intelligence that would help the Continental strike a blow against the British and help bolster the flagging spirits of the revolution.

As Washington retreated he left many agents and spies across the New Jersey countryside. Most of them remain unidentified, however they were local people or soldiers who rode though the countryside and loudly “talked Tory” while selling tobacco and other supplies to the British and Hessian soldiers.[16] One such source was John Honeyman of Griggstown, New Jersey.

John Honeyman, a veteran of the French and Indian War, probably first met Washington in Philadelphia when the Virginian was appointed as Commander-in-Chief. He probably also offered his services as a spy at that time. They met again as Washington began his retreat across New Jersey.[17] Honeyman began posing as a Tory butcher and had become well known to the British forces in New Jersey as he wandered in and out of the camps providing meat to the British while also collecting intelligence.

Trenton, a small village on the Delaware River in New Jersey, was manned by a detachment of Hessian mercenaries

[16] Blakeless, 166.
[17] Blaekless, 168.

numbering approximately 2,000 men.[18] Honeyman noted that this outpost was not properly defended and was vulnerable to a surprise attack.[19] He needed to get this information to Washington and the general knew that he needed to speak to his spy. Washington made it be known that he wanted the Tory captured. Honeyman then allowed himself to be captured. The spy was taken to Washington and made his report. Some time after that, Honeyman conveniently escaped (it seems probable that Washington facilitated Honeyman's escape) and reported back to the Hessian commander that the Continentals were in disarray and unlikely to attack.[20] Washington corroborated the information received and determined that he should attack Christmas morning. He daringly crossed the Delaware River and completely surprised the sleeping Hessians.

This victory is probably Washington's best known win and it was made possible by a thorough knowledge of the enemy's defenses and vulnerabilities to a surprise attack. As a result of their success at Trenton, many of his soldiers re-enlisted prior to the New Year and Washington was able to quickly follow the victory with another in Princeton on 3 January, 1777. Victory at Princeton was

[18] Dupuy, 67.
[19] Miller, 3-4.
[20] Blakeless, 169.

aided by intelligence received from Colonel Cadwalader, who had been ordered to scout New Jersey. Cadwalader provided a complete analysis of Princeton to include defensive positions, approaches to the town, and artillery locations that gave Washington the type of information that he needed to launch a successful attack for the second time in ten days.[21] After these two striking victories, the American cause had been renewed. Valuable intelligence, as well as some thoughtful deception by Honeyman, contributed greatly to these important victories.

New Jersey/Pennsylvania (1777-78). Early 1777 saw the two armies consolidating and training. As the campaign down the Hudson Valley by British General John Burgoyne began, Washington was concerned that General William Howe, the officer in overall command of British forces in the Colonies, would move north up the Hudson River and isolate New England from the rest of the Colonies. Howe departed New York in late July. Over the next month, Washington was kept guessing as to his actual intentions. Eventually, Howe moved on Philadelphia. Washington had been tipped off to this possibility as early as April, when a woman who had been sent into New York by one of Washington's spymaster's,

[21] Blakeless, 170-171.

Nathaniel Sackett, reported that the British were constructing flat-bottomed boats for use in the conquest of Philadelphia.[22] Washington's reaction to this news was to order General Thomas Mifflin to set up a spy network in the Colonial capitol.[23] Washington attempted to thwart the British advance to Philadelphia at Brandywine on September 11, 1777. This battle was nearly a disaster and marks one of the few serious intelligence failures of the war. Washington's scouts (mostly militia) failed to notice the British flanking maneuver, nor the ford used by the British to complete the move.[24] The British entered Philadelphia on September 26th, however, by the time the British captured it, the spy network was in place. This time Washington had anticipated his opponent's eventual move and had assets waiting for his use when the British arrived.

This period of the war is marked by multiple intelligence successes that led to Howe's eventual frustration due to his inability to defeat Washington. As John Blakeless states in his book *Turncoats, Traitors, and Heroes*:

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[22] The exact identity of this woman is unknown, however she was apparently the wife of a Tory who had a good cover story because her grain had been stolen by the Continental Army and she had gone to New York to complain to General Howe. While there, she watched the British and reported back to Sackett. Blakeless, 172-173.
[23] Blakeless, 173.
[24] Andrew, 9-10.

> The contrast with the situation in New York in 1776, only a year before, when Washington had been totally in the dark as to enemy intentions and capabilities, was positively startling. By 1777, the Continental commander always knew what Howe *could* do. He sometimes knew several days in advance exactly what Howe was going to do. And the commander-in-chief himself evaluated the intelligence, as it came in, with unerring skill.[25]

Washington truly knew his enemy during this period. Washington's spy-master in Philadelphia was Major John Clark. He and his spies kept Washington and his staff informed of British intentions, swiftly reporting all plans to headquarters. Major Clark worked so hard and diligently that he was forced to step down due to failing health in January, 1778, a potentially brilliant career cut short.[26]

Two occasions stand out in which Washington had warning and was able to avoid defeat. The first was at Forts Mifflin and Mercer. Major Clark's spies kept the Americans fully appraised of British intentions in November, 1777, and both forts were abandoned prior to their capture, saving men and materiel.[27]

The second significant instance involves a story of true bravery. The British had commandeered the house of a local Quaker family, the Darraghs, for use as a

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[25] Blakeless, 197-198.
[26] Blakeless, 205.
[27] Blakeless, 200-203.

headquarters. The British frequently used the homes of Quakers because they were pacifists and were not expected to support the war effort. Unfortunately for the British, the Darragh family had been recruited by Major Clark. During this time, Washington was encamped at Whitemarsh, a short distance outside the city. On the night of 2 December, 1777, Lydia Darragh, the matron of the family, hid in a closet and overheard the British making plans to attack Washington on the 4th. There was not enough time to use her normal round-about method of delivering her information. She slipped out of the city under the guise of needing flour and contacted the American army. This information confirmed other reports and the army was put on alert and the raid was thwarted.[28] These are but two examples of the type of situation that Howe faced in Philadelphia.

Although the Americans suffered greatly at Valley Forge during the winter, the British had had enough and decided to return to New York after General Howe was replaced by General Henry Clinton. Washington was well aware of the British intentions to return to New York and began making plans to harass the retreating British. Unfortunately, Washington's spies were unable to ascertain

[28] Miller, 19-20.

the exact date that movement would begin. Once movement did begin on 17-18 June, 1778, it was immediately reported to Washington, however, this report arrived too late to attack the British while they were crossing the Delaware (a move the British were expecting).[29] Washington rushed to catch up to the British resulting in the battle of Monmouth on June 28, 1778.

American intelligence agents repeatedly reported to reconnaissance units throughout the entire region as the British retreated to New York. Eventually, Washington found his place to strike the retreating British at Monmouth, where they had stopped for the night. General Charles Lee was ordered to command the advance force and engage the British rear guard while Washington brought up the main body. Washington received word that the British had begun their expected move the morning of 28 June. He sent word for Lee to begin the attack. Lee did not immediately attack. Washington ordered Lee forward a second time. Lee finally did order his units forward, but he didn't issue attack orders and did not properly coordinate his units. Lee's Brigade commanders took it upon themselves to attack but due to lack of coordination from Lee were forced to fall back. By that time,

[29] Blakeless, 225-226.

Washington had brought up his main body and fought a respectable engagement against a strengthened British attack. Washington blamed Lee for failing to attack the rear guard in a timely manner. This eventually led to Lee's court martial. There have been many theories as to why Lee failed to properly execute Washington's orders. In all likelihood, Lee merely didn't believe that it would succeed. However, some have suggested that the recently exchanged Lee had switched sides while a prisoner of war and promised to help the British win a battle.[30] After this battle, which had been a spirited exchange and showed that the abilities of the Continental Army had greatly improved, the British elected to continue on to New York rather than continue the fight. The second time that the main British force occupied New York was to be quite different from the first.

New York (1778-81). The war had now entered a new phase. The British seemed content to hunker down in New York City and look to other areas to pursue what had now become a world war with the entry of France and, later, Spain.[31] In

[30] Dupuy, 133.
[31] After the American victory at Saratoga in October, 1777, the French realized that the Americans could win and decided to ally themselves with the Americans. Later, in 1779, the Spanish also joined the war against the British.

the Spring of 1779, the British began the southern phase of the war with the conquest of Charleston, South Carolina. Washington remained in the New York area and continued harassment of the British there. This was when Washington's spies really came into their own. During the year in which the majority of British forces in the Colonies had been in the Philadelphia area, Washington worked to vastly improve his spy network in New York. When Clinton returned to New York those agents went to work. The most important group was the "Culper net". There were two primary agents. Abraham Woodhull and Robert Townsend used the aliases "Samuel Culper" and "Culper Junior" respectively in their reporting. They were managed by Major Benjamin Tallmadge of the 2d Dragoons (Sheldon's Horse), who used the alias "John Bolton."[32] Tallmadge reported directly to Washington.

Major Benjamin Tallmadge was a young man who had been a classmate of Nathan Hale's at Yale.[33] He joined the Dragoons when they were formed in December 1776[34] and was particularly adept at light cavalry work. Washington noticed his ability and recruited him to act as his spymaster. Washington intentionally did not know the

[32] Thompson, 52-53.
[33] Thompson, 51.
[34] Thompson.

identities of many of Tallmadge's contacts. The 2d Light Dragoons operated in Connecticut and Tallmadge received the reports from the "Culpers" from across the Long Island Sound. Tallmadge then forwarded them directly to Washington.[35] Tallmadge was very secretive, making little mention of his exploits throughout the rest of his life, but these exploits helped maintain the Revolution. Washington relied heavily on the steady flow of information that came from the "Culpers."

Abraham Woodhull, "Samuel Culper," lived in New York, posing as a Tory. He mucked about listening to British officers' conversations and corresponding with "Bolton." He was never discovered, but as time went along, he became convinced that the British were on to him. When he felt that he could no longer suffer the trials and tribulations of active espionage, he recruited Robert Townsend to take his place. Townsend became "Sameul Culper, Jr." or "Culper Junior". Townsend was a merchant of dry goods, and was permitted to travel about freely. Woodhull became the link between Tallmadge and the new Culper.[36] Townsend had a different approach from the secretive eavesdropping Woodhull. Townsend was a "loud Tory" who made submissions

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[35] Blakeless, 228.
[36] Miller, 23-24.

to the social section of a New York City Tory newspaper, *The Royal Gazette*. "British officers, eager to see their names in print, readily talked with Townsend."[37] The "Culpers" had their own contacts, many of whom remain unidentified to this day, that they used to compile their reports.

The majority of intelligence collected by this spy ring was of the routine nature. Reports on ship movements, morale, casualties, resupply, and warnings of British agents operating in the Continental Army were the normal types of reports received.[38] Although unglamorous, it was the volume of this material that made them particularly valuable to Washington.

There was one instance of intelligence supplied by the "Culpers" that was particularly important. The first major body of French troops, under the Comte de Rochambeau, was set to arrive at Newport, Rhode Island, in July, 1780. The British knew and planned to strike the French before they could construct an adequate defense. Townsend got word of the plan and immediately reported this to Tallmadge.

Because the raid was already forming Tallmadge was forced to act quickly. Tallmadge forwarded this

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[37] Thompson, 56.
[38] Blakeless, 237.

information to Washington, who quickly warned Rochameau. However, Washington did not have a strong enough force to interdict the raid nor attack a weakened New York City. But Washington did have an active intelligence and counterintelligence net, and he made the British believe that he was prepared to attack New York. The British took this threat seriously and withdrew the striking force.[39] The French, and therefore the alliance too, were spared.

This ring continued its accurate reporting throughout the remainder of the war. Because most of Tallmadge's spies were posing as Tories, the Major received permission from Washington to enter New York ahead of the main army when the British turned over control of the city to the Americans. Tallmadge contacted his spies and was able to ensure that there was no retribution made against them by the local population. Washington is said to have met with many of these people soon after the conquest of New York and gave his appreciation.[40]

Probably the most famous case of espionage and counterespionage during the American War for Independence was the case of General Benedict Arnold's treasonous attempt to turn over the fortress at West Point, New York,

[39] Miller, 26-27.
[40] Thompson, 62.

to the British. Major Benjamin Tallmadge had a large role in the disruption of the plan.

Arnold's contact was a British Major by the name of John Andre who was using the alias "John Anderson." Andre was the head of British intelligence in New York. "John Anderson" was captured carrying a letter from Arnold and the plans for West Point hidden in his boot on September 23, 1780. Prior to this, Arnold had asked Tallmadge to escort a man named "John Anderson" to him if he (Tallmadge) was to come across him. It is unclear whether Tallmadge had previously known the true identity of "John Anderson." But, when he learned that this man had been captured it was enough to make him suspicious. Tallmadge's superior, Lt. Col. John Jameson, unknowingly had decided to send Washington the documents that had been found and return the prisoner and a report to Arnold (the local commander to whom he was responsible for reporting). Not fathoming that Arnold could be guilty, Jameson reasoned that Arnold would know best how to deal with someone who was "spying on West Point."

Appalled, Tallmadge was able to convince Jameson to have the prisoner returned, but wasn't able to stop the report. Arnold received the report and, knowing that he had been discovered as a traitor, fled to the safety of the

British in New York. Major Andre was not so lucky. He was convicted of espionage and executed.[41] Tallmadge and the "Culpers" are but just a few of Washington's agents that contributed in keeping the British pent up in New York.

Yorktown (1781). In 1779-80, the focus of the war effort moved to the south. By July 1781, the British forces in the south, under General Charles Cornwallis, had moved out of the Carolinas and had relocated to Yorktown, Virginia. Cornwallis was hemmed in by American forces, commanded by the Marquis de Lafayette, but still large enough to be dangerous. Washington quickly seized upon a plan as the situation developed. In May, the French had indicated that a fleet would be available for use in aiding the war effort in America. Washington's initial plan was to use this fleet and some accompanying French troops for an all-out assault on New York. To Rochambeau, the French commander in America, this didn't seem to really be the best course of action, but it was the allies initial plan.[42]

By August, Washington's plan changed abruptly. The Comte de Grasse, the French admiral, reported that he was ready to sail north from the West Indies to assist the

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[41] Thompson, 57-59.
[42] Miller, 32-33.

allies. The allies seized upon a plan to capture all of Cornwallis' force. The French fleet was directed to go to Virginia and close the British escape route by sea. Washington and Rochambeau would move south to complete the siege of Yorktown.

This is when Washington pulled another trick out of his bag. The general knew that his plan to attack New York had been captured. Although, there doesn't appear to be any evidence to support it, given Washington's history with disinformation, it is possible that he allowed the plan to be captured. Nevertheless, Clinton was convinced that the allies intended to attack New York, and Washington needed Clinton to continue to believe this while the French and American armies slipped away. He began repositioning boats, improving roads, and conducting other tasks in New Jersey that would lead the British to believe that they were preparing to attack New York.[43] In the meantime, the armies began to move south into New Jersey giving weight to the notion that they were preparing an attack from that direction.

The British were not aware that *some* troops were moving south until September 1st. On September 2nd, they

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[43] Miller.

still feared that Washington planned to double back and attack New York. On the 4th, they received the report that French troops were reinforcing Lafayette at Yorktown. On the 6th, they discovered that very few troops remained in the vicinity of New York. Clinton still did not become convinced of the plan to attack Cornwallis until 8 September.[44] By this time it was too late, the allied army had gotten away and Clinton would not be able to interfere with the move south. In the meantime, the French Navy defeated the British relief at the Battle of the Virginia Capes. Cornwallis' fate was sealed.

By the time Washington and Rochambeau reached Yorktown, they were well aware of Cornwallis' plight. Washington was intercepting many of Cornwallis' dispatches. Thanks to the skill of Mr. James Lovell at code breaking Washington was also able to read these messages.[45] The deception plan allowed Washington to move south. His constant knowledge of British intentions from his sources within New York City and intercepted communications allowed him to tighten the noose in Virginia.

Washington knew that Clinton was unable and unwilling to attempt to come to the aid of Cornwallis. Armed with

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[44] Blakeless, 341.
[45] Andrew, 12.

this knowledge, Washington was able to concentrate sufficient force in Yorktown without fear that Clinton would attack other locations that were less well defended. Cornwallis surrendered his force on October 19, 1781. The war was all but won. Major fighting in the war had come to a conclusion. After the completion of the Yorktown campaign, Washington resumed his “siege” of New York and intelligence continued to flow from his spies inside the city until the final evacuation in November, 1782, after the conclusion of the war.

Other Theaters. Even though Washington remained around the main body of the British army while some more important battles were fought in other theaters, he retained control of all Continental Army efforts. Washington kept up a steady correspondence with his subordinate commanders. He demanded that they provide him with detailed accounts of engagements and responses to his requests for information. At the same time that he was requesting information he was also using his knowledge of enemy plans and intentions to aid his subordinates in their operations.

In February 1777, Washington sent correspondence to General Phillip Schuyler, the commander of forces defending Fort Ticonderoga and northern New York from any attack from

Canada. In a letter dated on the twenty-third of that month, Washington informed Schuyler that he didn't anticipate that the British would attempt to move south until late spring. Additionally, he informed him of anticipated reinforcements, estimated enemy troop strengths and that "the intelligence communicated by the Express [probably a courier sent earlier], who delivered my Letter of the 9th Instt. was premature."[46]

In August of 1778, the first French aid provided to the Americans came in the form of a fleet under the Comte. D'Estaing. It initially advanced to the Newport, RI, area before proceeding on to Boston. In correspondence with Gen. Nathanael Greene dated 21 August, 1778, Washington advised him to be wary of attacks from the British. He informed Greene that "it appears certain, that Sixteen of Lord Howe's fleet entered the Hook on the 17th."[47] The Hook was the area exiting New York Harbor. Washington used the intelligence that he received from his coastal watchers to

[46] Unfortunately, the Library of Congress website does not have the referenced letters to give us an indication of what intelligence was deemed "premature." George Washington. *The Writings of George Washington from the Original Manuscript Sources, 1745-1799. John C. Fitzpatrick, Editor.--vol. 07.* Library of Congress Online version. 3 Mar, 2002, <http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/mgw:@field(DOCID+@lit(gw070199))>.

[47] George Washington. *George Washington Papers at the Library of Congress, 1741-1799: Series 3h Varick Transcripts*, *Letterbook 1*, 3 Mar 2002 <http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/mgw:@field(DOCID+@lit(gw120381))>.

warn his subordinate of potential threat to allied and Continental forces operating in other areas than his own.

Another example can be found in correspondence between Washington and General Nathanael Greene. In the summer of 1781, as Cornwallis had moved to Yorktown and Greene was consolidating his victory in South Carolina, Washington was in constant communication with Greene. In a letter dated 30 July, 1781, Washington informed Greene of Cornwallis' movement into Virginia and his intention to have Greene continue his efforts in South Carolina.[48] In a later letter dated 27 September, he informed him of the victory at the Battle of the Virginia Capes and his movement to Yorktown.[49] In addition to informing Greene of the current situation he continued to request reports from the commander in the southern sector. Washington's intention with both letters was to keep his subordinate informed of the general situation while continuing to keep him engaged with his task at hand. Washington continually communicated with his subordinates relaying and requesting important information.

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[48] George Washington. *George Washington Papers at the Library of Congress, 1741-1799: Series 4. General Correspondence. 1697-1799.* 3 March, 2002. <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/P?mgw:30:./temp/~ammem_hAg8::>.

[49] George Washington. *George Washington Papers at the Library of Congress, 1741-1799: Series 4. General Correspondence. 1697-1799.* 3 March, 2002. <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/P?mgw:28:./temp/~ammem_hAg8::>.

Intelligence Methods:

> Sun Tzu said it quite well:
>
> Now the reason the enlightened prince and the wise general conquer the enemy whenever they move and their achievements surpass those of ordinary men is foreknowledge.[50]

Washington was successful because he had foreknowledge. Knowledge of the enemy's intentions and dispositions are paramount to a successful military campaign. Washington was master of these techniques. His foreknowledge of the enemy allowed him to avoid many engagements and attack when the time was right for battle. Washington's use of intelligence information included the cornerstones of traditional intelligence analysis and operations: espionage; counterintelligence; communications security and code breaking; operational security and deception; and surveillance and reconnaissance. Effective use of all of these methods allowed Washington to make analytical estimates and stymie British efforts to decisively engage the Continental Army.

General George Washington regarded intelligence accumulation and analysis as one of his primary responsibilities. He hired spies, planted false reports with double agents, used codes and ciphers, and analyzed

[50] Sun Tzu, *The Art of War,* trans. Samuel B. Griffith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963), 144.

the reports he received for himself. He used his cavalry units to conduct reconnaissance operations and act as intermediaries between himself and his spies. He demanded that reports be in writing and delivered with utmost haste "reminding his officers of those bits of intelligence he had received which had become valueless because of delay in getting them to him."[51] He realized the value of multiple sources and used this method frequently to validate his information. He even wrote a makeshift textbook for his army officers to use to conduct intelligence operations.[52] Additionally, he used all the information gathered to create a decision-making process.[53] Washington also created the first intelligence gathering units, the Light Dragoons. Their primary duties included reconnaissance, surveillance, capture of prisoners for interrogation, and harassment.[54] Washington directed all intelligence activities conducted by the Continental Army and truly was the focus of all intelligence reporting and analysis.

Espionage. Espionage was the primary method of collection of intelligence during the Eighteenth Century, with

[51] CIA, 36.
[52] This was the only reference to this "textbook" that could be found. It is unknown if any copies still exist. Sayle, 4.
[53] Sayle.
[54] Sayle, 3.

reconnaissance, prisoner interview, and courier interception being the others. However, espionage provided General Washington with the wherewithal to succeed in his endeavors to lead a young nation to victory. Spies were very prevalent on both sides during the war, and Washington was the best at using them. As noted above, one of his very first expenditures after assuming command was to an agent to enter Boston,[55] and the value of intelligence that came from spies such as the "Culpers" cannot be underestimated.

There are countless stories of intrigue from the war. People used disguises and cover stories to enter the British occupied areas and report back to the Americans. Frequently, as in the case of the Darraghs, they were ordinary citizens who were forced to house British officers. Many were simple salesmen and hucksters like John Honeyman who plied their trade among the British and reported what they saw. Still others were society people who mixed easily with the British Officers.[56] Many military secrets leaked out. One was Burgoyne's plan for the invasion of New York State and the capture of the Hudson Valley. The reporting was highly accurate, predicting the

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[55] Miller, 5.
[56] Miller, 19.

movements of Burgoyne and Howe during that campaign that ended in British defeat at Saratoga. Burgoyne's plan was reported to the Continentals before it was even presented to King George.[57]

Many spies, like Nathan Hale, were taken right from the ranks of the Continental Army. Another soldier, Captain David Gray, was declared a deserter. After "deserting," he infiltrated Colonel Beverly Robinson's Tories and obtained the position as the courier for the Tory intelligence agent. Gray then proceeded to turn over copies of all of Robinson's dispatches. Eventually, Gray moved up to be a courier for Major Oliver DeLancey, Jr. DeLancey headed the British secret service in New York. Gray was responsible for the route between the city and Canada and passed his dispatches on to Washington for nearly two years. After completing that assignment he returned to the ranks and his name was stricken from the list of deserters.[58] Washington managed some of his own spies as well as delegating the management duties to various subordinates.

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[57] Blakeless, 124.
[58] CIA, 20.

Counterintelligence. Knowing the value of his own spies and how easy it was to infiltrate the enemy, Washington recognized that the British were finding it almost as easy to do the same to him. This may be one reason that he performed much intelligence analysis himself rather than trust too many others with his sources. He was constantly on the lookout for spies and directed his subordinates to be just as vigilant. He called British spies "the one evil I dread."[59] Washington firmly believed that he should pay his agents as much as possible, but he remained wary of a spy who was purely in it for the money because he could just as easily be paid by the British with more than the Continentals could afford.[60] Washington firmly believed that the best security for his army and cause was a strong sense of patriotism, which is probably why he found Benedict Arnold's betrayal so distressing. Luckily it was discovered before any major damage had been done.

Previously, another instance of solid counterintelligence work involves the case of Dr. Benjamin Church. Church was a trusted part of the circle of patriots in Boston prior to the start of the War. Although the patriots knew that there was a mole in their

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[59] CIA, 21.
[60] Miller, 7.

organization, the doctor was above suspicion. Later, after Washington had taken command, Church was made chief medical officer for the Continental Army. In September, 1775, a letter written in cipher was intercepted. After interrogating the young lady who had been entrusted to deliver the letter, it was revealed that the author of the letter was Dr. Church. Church was immediately questioned and held until they could determine his guilt or innocence.[61] After some work, the letter was decoded and Church's deception had been proven. The doctor was found guilty and imprisoned because of a legal loophole that prevented his execution (the loophole was immediately fixed). He was exchanged for American prisoners in 1777.[62] Washington found Dr. Church's disloyalty very sobering and began to take the threat of spies even more seriously than before.

Communications Security & Code Breaking. Just as ferreting out spies was important to the American cause, so was the need to protect the information that was being supplied to Washington. Washington's most important spies were supplied with a "sympathetic stain" that had been invented

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[61] Church claimed that the letter was of a personal nature and that is why it had been encoded.
[62] Miller, 9-11.

by John Jay's brother, Sir James Jay. This ink was more effective than traditional milk or lemon juice methods of invisible writing. It could not be read by holding it up to light. It required a solution to make the writing visible. Additionally, codes were developed so that names and locations could be protected even if the British discovered how to develop the stain.[63] Washington's agents using the stain would write a standard letter and then use the stain in the margins and between the lines. They would also write in the margins of the pages and inside the cover-leafs of books.

Another method of encryption was to create a cutout template. Two examples included an hourglass shape or small blocks cut out of a plain sheet of paper. When this sheet was placed over top of an otherwise normal looking letter a secret message was revealed.[64]

James Lovell was Washington's chief codebreaker. As noted above, he provided a valuable service decoding British dispatches, particularly during the Yorktown campaign. Once encryption methods had been determined they were provided directly to Washington and he spent hours

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[63] Thompson, 53.
[64] Robert Sharenow and Harlan Reiniger, prods., "American Spy," *This Week In History*. Narr. Josh Lebowitz. The History Channel, 14 January 2002.

analyzing the accumulated intelligence that was gleaned from intercepted communications.[65] Intercepted communications provided a vast wealth of information and Washington recognized the need to protect his own as well.

Deception & Operational Security. Washington was a master at the art of deception. The British were frequently left guessing as to his exact intentions. Washington achieved these results through a series of deliberate plants of disinformation, operational security, and deceptive acts by his forces. There are numerous instances of deception during the War for Independence. Washington's withdrawal from around New York and movement south to Yorktown is one example. Construction of boats and road improvement coupled with deliberate disinformation, making Clinton believe that New York was about to be attacked, allowed the French and Americans to move south without interference from the British.

Another interesting case of deception happened in winter quarters at Morristown, NJ, in 1777. Washington's army had dwindled to only about 4,000, so he billeted them by twos and threes in the various buildings giving the impression that his army was much larger. Then when a

[65] Andrew, 11.

known British spy arrived in the camp, Washington allowed him to steal greatly inflated unit strength reports. General Howe was led to believe that the Continental Army was three times its actual strength.[66] Washington's spies were frequently ordered to provide false information to the British, which was very effective in keeping the British guessing as to American intentions.

Washington was also very concerned about operational security. Due to the nature of the war, secrets were hard to keep. Because spies and double agents were rampant, Washington did his best to ensure that his plans remained secret as long as possible. The troops usually didn't know where they were headed when a march was ordered. Washington was also quick to punish operational and security leaks. Many violators were given the lash.[67] On one occasion some of Major Benjamin Tallmadge's confidential papers, operational funds, and his personal trunk were captured by the British during a raid in 1779. A spy was compromised, but was warned in time to escape. Although there is no evidence that Tallmadge was given the lash, he was admonished by Washington.[68] After this

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[66] Miller, 21
[67] Sayle, 3.
[68] Tallmadge probably wasn't punished because that would reveal more value than benefit gained from punishment.

incident, the spies were required to write in code and use the "sympathetic stain" as well.[69] Without effective deception tactics and operational security the Continental Army could have been engaged and destroyed on numerous occasions.

Surveillance & Reconnaissance. The operations of light cavalry as surveillance, reconnaissance, and guide assets was as important to the armies of the Eighteenth Century as reconnaissance units are today. Washington was initially unimpressed with the need for such units. The first cavalry unit that was assigned to the Continental Army was dismissed by Washington in July, 1776, due in part to his belief that they were too expensive to maintain and his distaste for their military bearing.[70] Their presence was missed just a month later when the British easily outflanked Washington's position at the Battle of Long Island. Later that year, Washington established the first Light Dragoon units to accomplish these tasks. As the war progressed these units became very valuable to him.

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[69] Thompson, 55.
[70] Burt Garfield Loescher, Washington's Eyes, The Continental Light Dragoons *Dragoons,* (Fort Collins, Colorado, USA: The Old Army Press, 1977), 4.

The Dragoons truly were the intelligence organization of the American War for Independence. After failures in and around New York City in 1776, Washington asked Congress to fund four light cavalry, or Dragoon, units late in that year.[71] The "Dragoons were a light, mobile force, operating ahead and on the flanks of the main force, scouting out the enemy's movements, gathering other intelligence, and thwarting the enemy cavalry's similar efforts."[72] There were four Dragoon units; all had significant impact on the course of the war. However, the 2d Continental Light Dragoons (Sheldon's Connecticut Horse) stood out for its effectiveness as an intelligence gathering unit. Major Benjamin Tallmadge was part of this unit.

> The second dragoons exceeded the personification of the ideal type of Dragoon. They not only fought and won victories on horse and foot but on the water as well. They were also the key to Washington's espionage service. None of the four Light Dragoon regiments surpassed Sheldon's Horse for uniquely active and effective service. Too little has been written of the impact that "Sheldon's Connecticut Horse" had in the American Revolution.[73]

When the armies were encamped, the Dragoons remained active, ranging between the armies intercepting enemy units and agents and conducting hit and run raids on militarily

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[71] Loescher, 24.
[72] Thompson, 51.
[73] Thompson, 23.

significant targets. Military and intelligence operations conducted by the Continental Army greatly improved with the creation of the Dragoons.

During the Battle of Brandywine, although the British flanking maneuver had been missed earlier, it was these units that discovered it in time to alert Washington and prevent a catastrophe.[74] In addition to traditional Dragoon units, Washington also used the local populace and soldiers from his army familiar with the area to scout the surrounding terrain and guide his army to battle. Three Continental soldiers from the Trenton area scouted the area looking for Tories carrying warning to the Hessians and guided Washington's army from the Delaware river crossing to the town enabling Washington's army to surprise the enemy.[75] There were other units created for the express purpose of conducting surveillance. One such unit was a New Jersey militia unit formed in 1777 for the purpose of watching and reporting British naval and shipping movements.[76] As Sun Tzu tells us, "Those who do not use local guides are unable to obtain the advantages of the ground."[77] Washington was fully aware of this and used the

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[74] Loescher, 8.
[75] Blakeless, 170.
[76] Blakeless, 181-182.
[77] Sun Tzu, 104.

capabilities of his army for local knowledge to great effect, staying a step ahead of the British on many occasions.

Reporting & Analysis. Raw collected data is of little value if it is not properly reported and analyzed. As stated previously, Washington performed most of his intelligence analysis himself. We will never know the extent of his intelligence apparatus because neither Washington, nor many of his sources, ever revealed that information. However, we do know that Washington preferred his reports to be in writing, in detail, and delivered as swiftly as possible. His instructions were precise when requesting "details on British military and naval movements, the location and condition of fortifications and bases, and not least, the health and morale of enemy troops."[78] Washington used this data to help him make the assessments of British strength and capabilities. He was very meticulous and resolutely believed in the value of validating intelligence by confirmation from another source. Although the exploits of John Honeyman are well known, Washington confirmed his spy's reports through

[78] Miller, 6-7.

intelligence gathered from other sources before deciding to launch the attack on Trenton.[79]

Reports continued to flow immediately after the attack on Trenton. Colonel John Cadwalader had been assigned the task of scouting Princeton, and his report included the type of detailed information that Washington repeatedly desired. It was a complete "intelligence preparation of the battlefield." It pointed out approaches to the town, artillery locations, defenses, and exact quartering locations.[80] Washington used this information to defeat elements of the British army at Princeton on January 3, 1777.

Washington also desired timely reporting, and more than once he admonished his agents and units for not supplying information quickly enough before it had become irrelevant. However, he also frequently received reporting in almost no time. British casualty reports from the Battle of Germantown in October, 1777, were received approximately thirty-six hours after the conclusion of the battle.[81] Washington was gifted at analyzing the information that was provided to him. Proper analysis requires sound collection methods, multiple sources, and

[79] Miller, 4.
[80] Blakeless, 170-171.
[81] Blakeless, 199.

detailed and timely reporting, all of which Washington received.

Organization. Because General Washington maintained control of intelligence operations there was little formal organizational structure for intelligence in the Continental Army. Potentially, Washington could have relieved himself of these duties and they may very well have been accomplished satisfactorily. However, Washington believed that intelligence analysis was too important to be left to a subordinate. In this way he was able to delegate other responsibilities and reduce the chance of compromise by limiting the number of personnel involved in his secret operations.

Although the primary intelligence collection units were the light cavalry, or Dragoons (as discussed above), there was another unit that was expressly created for the conduct of intelligence operations. In 1776, Washington selected Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Knowlton to head an elite unit that became known as “Knowlton’s Rangers.” This unit was created to conduct reconnaissance and intelligence collection. Because it was the first such unit in the Continental Army, today’s Army’s Military Intelligence

Corps traces its origins here.[82] However, Knowlton's Rangers was more of a light infantry unit that conducted special operations and not the same sort of unit that the Dragoons became. Thomas Knowlton himself was a charismatic leader who always led his men in battle, epitomizing today's Intelligence Corps' Motto "Always Out Front."[83] Unfortunately, Knowlton himself was killed at the battle of Harlem Heights on September 16, 1776. Two months later, the unit was captured at Fort Washington and ceased to exist.[84] Nathan Hale was a member of this unit when he volunteered for his fateful mission. Washington made great use of his units expressly created for collection of intelligence while limiting the number of personnel who would be privy to that information collected, thus maintaining a high level of security.

Conclusion.

"Over the Revolutionary War as a whole, Washington's grasp of military intelligence and deception comfortably exceeded that of his British opponents."[85] Accurate and

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[82] CIA, 37.
[83] Lila Faint, *Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Knowlton, A Short Biography,* n.d., Military Intelligence Corps Association, 4 Jan 2002 <http://www.micorps.org/knowlton/knowlton-bio.htm>.
[84] United States Army, Center of Military History, *Rangers in Colonial and Revolutionary America,* 4 Jan 2002 <http://www.army.mil/cmh-pg/documents/revwar/revra.htm>.
[85] Andrew, 10.

timely intelligence is the key to successful military operations. General George Washington understood this quite well. His most brilliant military successes were due in part to good intelligence. Trenton was made possible by the daring feats of a butcher who posed as a Tory so that he could enter the British camp. Washington came to realize exactly how vulnerable Cornwallis was through intercepted communications and used sound deception tactics to move away from New York and force the British capitulation at Yorktown. Although intelligence methods have changed quite a bit in the last two centuries, the basic principles remain valid today. Washington used these functions to great success.

Espionage was the primary method available to gather valuable information regarding one's adversary in the Eighteenth Century. Washington had many spies placed throughout the country and behind the British lines. Today, espionage has become more dangerous and somewhat less important with the advent of new technologies to monitor enemy operations and communications. However, espionage (one of the functions of human intelligence or HUMINT) is still capable of providing some of the most valuable information. While espionage was frequently conducted by members of the army in Washington's time,

today we rely on non-Department of Defense organizations to provide that information. Today technology has replaced many of the old-fashioned espionage tactics. However, the threat posed by terrorism may require that we readdress the role of espionage in our intelligence apparatus. One of the major concerns regarding espionage is the fear of compromise and the need for solid counterintelligence practices.

Washington regarded counterintelligence as one of the most dangerous threats to his army. Today, the threat of infiltration of our intelligence organizations is less than it was during the American Revolution, but still remains valid (with potentially devastating results). Washington tasked his personnel to remain vigilant for the actions of enemy agents. The best counterintelligence method is vigilance and questioning suspicious activity. One of the reasons that the counterintelligence threat has changed is for the same reason that we do not conduct as much espionage as we did in the past. Technology has improved.

Most intelligence collection today can be done from long range. Communications can now be intercepted by electronic means. With the increase in capability to intercept electronic communications, an increase in the requirement for proper communications security has become

necessary. Washington's primary methods of communications security were limited to invisible ink, embedded messages, and codes. Today, invisible ink is no longer necessary, but codes are paramount. As codebreaking methods have become more sophisticated so have methods of encrypting messages. Washington realized the value of proper communications security especially as he became adept at intercepting and decoding British messages.

The comprehension of the value of communications security led to his respect for the need for good operational security and the ability to deceive his enemy. Operational security remains one of our primary areas of concern. With expanded ability to read and distribute information it has become even easier to piece together what a nation or force intends to do. Sound operations security and good deception tactics can prevent the enemy from knowing their adversary's intentions. Washington was a master at deception. The best way to defeat an adversary is to keep him guessing as to your intentions.

Surveillance and reconnaissance were important aspects of Washington's ability to remain a step ahead of the British. Washington was limited to information that could be obtained by someone actually viewing an event. Today we can conduct these activities from long range through the

use of imaging capabilities and listening devices. Eyes-on-target surveillance and reconnaissance has not completely gone away and can still be some of our most effective intelligence collection assets when combined with radio communications and on-call weapons delivery.

As Sun Tzu tells us:

> And therefore only the enlightened sovereign and the worthy general who are able to use the most intelligent people as agents are certain to achieve great things. Secret operations are essential in war; upon them the army relies to make its every move.[86]

Washington knew the value of intelligence and carried his lessons into his presidency when he "took personal responsibility for foreign intelligence."[87] Whether it was analysis of multiple sources of information or management of far ranging spy networks, Washington always displayed an adept ability to use intelligence for the successful conduct of the war and the attainment of independence for the United States of America.

[86] Sun Tzu, 149.
[87] Andrew, 11.

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Proposed Topic: Gen. George Washington made great use of intelligence during the American War for Independence. His use of intelligence had great effect on the outcome of the war and holds lessons that can be applied today.

Primary Sources:

The Library of Congress has scanned the majority of George Washington's correspondence and placed it online (http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/gwhtml/gwhome.html). This can be a very valuable source. However, many of the letters have not been transcribed and are difficult to read. Additionally, the volume of data is also difficult to wade though for the nuggets of information that are contained within.

Secondary Accounts:

Christopher Andrew's *For the President's Eyes Only, Secret Intelligence and the American Presidency from Washington to Bush,* (New York: Harper Perennial, 1995.) is a book that looks at how U. S. Presidents have used intelligence information in the execution of their duties. The first chapter discusses Washington's involvement in intelligence throughout his career as a military officer and President.

John Blakeless' *Turncoats, Traitors, and Heroes* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippencott Company, 1959) is an analysis of American and British military intelligence methods and activities employed during the American Revolution. This source is invaluable to the writing of this paper.

The CIA's pamphlet, *Intelligence in the War of Independence,* (n. p., n. d.) is a 45-page overview of all intelligence operations and activities during the Revolution. It contains quite a bit of useful information and areas to look for further reference. Of note, it contains a listing of suggested readings which includes an article titled "George Washington, Manager of Intelligence," published in *Studies in Intelligence*, vol. 27, no. 4 (Winter 1983) which should have some valuable information.

Washington's Eyes, The Continental Light Dragoons (Fort Collins, Colorado: The Old Army Press, 1977) by Burt Garfield Loescher is a book about the operations and organization of the four Continental Light Dragoon units. This book outlines the exploits of these units that were vital to gaining information regarding the activities of the British army for the Continental Army.

Nathan Miller's *Spying For America, The Hidden History of U. S. Intelligence* (New York: Paragon House, 1989) is a review of spying throughout the history of the United States. The first chapter is about George Washington and describes some of his activities and sources. The second and third chapters focus on activities performed by Washington's agents.

The periodical, *Studies in Intelligence* [24, no. 4 (Winter 1983): 1-10], published an article by Edward F. Sayle titled "George Washington: Manager of Intelligence." This article outlines Washington's actions in the field of intelligence in support of the war effort.

Samuel B. Griffith's translation of Sun Tzu's *The Art of War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963) and Carl von Clausewitz's *On War,* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1976) contain useful insight into the value and impact of accurate intelligence on military operations and planning.

Edmund R. Thompson edited *Secret New England, Spies of the American Revolution* (Kennebunk, Maine, USA: The David Atlee Phillips New England Chapter Association of Former Intelligence Officers, 1991). This book contains a series of articles about intelligence and espionage operations conducted in the New England colonies during the Revolution.

This Week in History broadcast by The History Channel aired a segment titled "American Spy" on 14 January, 2002 (Robert Sharenow and Harlan Reiniger, prods. and narrated by Josh Lebowitz). This program expanded on much information that had already been identified through research. However, it did contain one new nugget on the use of cutout templates when encrypting messages.

The United States Army Center of Military History posted a short article on their web site titled *Rangers in Colonial*

and Revolutionary America (4 Jan. 2002. <http://www.army.mil/cmh-pg/documents/revwar/revra.htm>). It provided information on the history of Knowlton's Rangers.

Biography:

Trevor Nevitt Dupuy's *The Military Life of George Washington: American Soldier* (New York: Franklin Watts, Inc., 1969) is a brief biography of George Washington as a soldier and provides a good snapshot of his battles and how they were conducted.

2d Lieutenant Lila Faint, USA, wrote a short biography titled *Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Knowlton, A Short Biography* (n.d. Military Intelligence Corps Association. 4 Jan 2002. <http://www.micorps.org/knowlton/knowlton-bio.htm>.). It contains details of his life and the formation of his unit, Knowlton's Rangers.